

Section 4: Election Surveys

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Load the merged survey data

- Two proprietary surveys conducted by the survey agencies KONDA and SONAR

```
load("data/df_surveys.RData")
```

Table 2

- Election surveys: The joint distribution of March and June outcomes
- weight_s5: survey weights post-stratified to match 2019 administrative population totals for the joint distribution of age, gender, and education as well as the margins from the 2018 legislative and the March and June 2019 mayoral elections

```
df_analyze <- df_surveys %>%
  mutate(weight = weight_s5) %>%
  filter(!is.na(weight))
```

```
dim(df_analyze)
```

```
## [1] 5480 29
```

The joint distribution of March and June outcomes

```
df_P <- df_analyze %>%
  group_by(vote_march_3, vote_june_3) %>%
  summarise(n = n(), weight=mean(weight)) %>%
  group_by(vote_march_3, vote_june_3) %>%
  mutate(n_weighted = n*weight) %>%
  ungroup() %>%
  mutate(
    p=n_weighted/sum(n_weighted),
    percentage=round(100*p, 2))
```

```
## `summarise()` has grouped output by 'vote_march_3'. You can override using the `.groups` argument.
```

```
df_P
```

```
## # A tibble: 9 x 7
##   vote_march_3 vote_june_3     n weight n_weighted     p percentage
##   <fct>         <fct>         <int> <dbl>  <dbl>  <dbl>  <dbl>
## 1 AKP          AKP           2397  1520.  3643877. 0.345   34.5
## 2 AKP          CHP            218  1345.   293130. 0.0277   2.77
## 3 AKP          ABS            23   9513.   218799. 0.0207   2.07
## 4 CHP          AKP            47  2056.    96613. 0.00914  0.91
```

```
## 5 CHP          CHP          2594  1557.   4039594.  0.382       38.2
## 6 CHP          ABS           3  11109.    33328.  0.00315     0.32
## 7 ABS          AKP           39  5015.    195578.  0.0185     1.85
## 8 ABS          CHP           88  4652.    409358.  0.0387     3.87
## 9 ABS          ABS           71 23100.   1640077.  0.155     15.5
```

The three mechanisms

```
switching <- df_P$p[2]-df_P$p[4]
backlash <- df_P$p[8]-df_P$p[6]
disenchantment <- df_P$p[3]-df_P$p[7]

round(100*switching, 2)
```

```
## [1] 1.86
```

```
round(100*backlash, 2)
```

```
## [1] 3.56
```

```
round(100*disenchantment, 2)
```

```
## [1] 0.22
```

Estimate the confidence intervals via the bootstrap

- use post-stratification weights as bootstrap probabilities to propagate sampling uncertainty into the final estimates

```
boot_rep <- 10000
mechs_out <- c()

# USE POST-STRATIFICATION WEIGHTS AS BOOTSTRAP PROBABILITIES
df_toboot <- df_analyze %>%
  mutate(rid = seq(1:n())) %>%
  select(rid, vote_march_3, vote_june_3, weight)

# BOOTSTRAP
p_boot_save <- c()
for (i in 1:boot_rep) {

  # DRAW RIDS
  rid_boot <- sample(df_toboot$rid, replace=TRUE, prob=df_toboot$weight)

  # EXTRACT THE DATA BASED ON THE DRAW
  df_boot <- df_toboot[rid_boot,]

  # COMPUTE THE JOINT PMF
  p_boot <- table(df_boot$vote_march_3, df_boot$vote_june_3)/sum(table(df_boot$vote_march_3, df_boot$vote_june_3))

  # TRANSFORM TO A VECTOR THAT IS A ROWWISE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MATRIX
  p_boot <- c(t(p_boot))

  # SAVE IT
  p_boot_save <- rbind(p_boot_save, p_boot)
}
```

Extract the bootstrap draws of the joint distribution of March and June outcomes and the mechanisms

```
switching_boot <- c()
backlash_boot <- c()
disenchantment_boot <- c()

for (j in 1:boot_rep) {
  P <- matrix(p_boot_save[j,], nrow=3, byrow=TRUE)

  switching <- P[1,2] - P[2,1]
  switching_boot <- rbind(switching_boot, switching)

  backlash <- P[3,2] - P[2,3]
  backlash_boot <- rbind(backlash_boot, backlash)

  disenchantment <- P[1,3] - P[3,1]
  disenchantment_boot <- rbind(disenchantment_boot, disenchantment)
}
```

Bootstrap estimates of the mean and the confidence intervals of the joint distribution of March and June outcomes

- These are the estimates reported in Table 2

```
p_boot_mean <- apply(p_boot_save, 2, mean, na.rm=TRUE)
p_boot_lower <- apply(p_boot_save, 2, quantile, probs=c(.025), na.rm=TRUE)
p_boot_upper <- apply(p_boot_save, 2, quantile, probs=c(.975), na.rm=TRUE)

P_boot_mean <- matrix(p_boot_mean, nrow=3, byrow=TRUE)
round(100*P_boot_mean, 2)
```

```
##      [,1] [,2] [,3]
## [1,] 34.47 2.78 2.07
## [2,] 0.91 38.21 0.32
## [3,] 1.84 3.87 15.53
```

```
P_boot_lower <- matrix(p_boot_lower, nrow=3, byrow=TRUE)
round(100*P_boot_lower, 2)
```

```
##      [,1] [,2] [,3]
## [1,] 33.25 2.35 1.70
## [2,] 0.66 36.93 0.18
## [3,] 1.50 3.36 14.56
```

```
P_boot_upper <- matrix(p_boot_upper, nrow=3, byrow=TRUE)
round(100*P_boot_upper, 2)
```

```
##      [,1] [,2] [,3]
## [1,] 35.71 3.21 2.46
## [2,] 1.19 39.47 0.47
## [3,] 2.21 4.40 16.50
```


Figure 4

- Election surveys: The joint distribution of March and June outcomes

Construct the plot data

- `weight_s5`: survey weights post-stratified to match 2019 administrative population totals for the joint distribution of age, gender, and education as well as the margins from the 2018 legislative and the March and June 2019 mayoral elections

```
df_analyze <- df_surveys %>%  
  mutate(weight = weight_s5) %>%  
  filter(!is.na(weight))
```

A FUNCTION THAT CONDUCTS THE BOOTSTRAP

```
mech_boot_fn <- function(data) {  
  
  boot_rep <- 10000  
  
  # BOOTSTRAP  
  p_boot_save <- c()  
  for (i in 1:boot_rep) {  
  
    # DRAW RIDS  
    rid_boot <- sample(data$rid, replace=TRUE, prob=data$weight)  
  
    # EXTRACT THE DATA BASED ON THE DRAW  
    df_boot <- data[rid_boot,]  
  
    # COMPUTE THE JOINT PMF  
    p_boot <- table(df_boot$vote_march_3, df_boot$vote_june_3)/sum(table(df_boot$vote_march_3, df_boot$  
  
    # TRANSFORM TO A VECTOR THAT IS A ROWWISE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MATRIX  
    p_boot <- c(t(p_boot))  
  
    # SAVE IT  
    p_boot_save <- rbind(p_boot_save, p_boot)  
  }  
  
  # EXTRACT THE BOOTSTRAP DRAWS OF THE JOINT DISTRIBUTION OF MARCH AND JUNE OUTCOMES AND THE MECHANISMS  
  switching_boot <- c()  
  backlash_boot <- c()  
  disenchantment_boot <- c()  
  
  for (j in 1:boot_rep) {  
    P <- matrix(p_boot_save[j,], nrow=3, byrow=TRUE)  
  
    switching <- P[1,2] - P[2,1]  
    switching_boot <- rbind(switching_boot, switching)  
  
    backlash <- P[3,2] - P[2,3]  
    backlash_boot <- rbind(backlash_boot, backlash)
```

```

disenchantment <- P[1,3] - P[3,1]
disenchantment_boot <- rbind(disenchantment_boot, disenchantment)
}

## BOOTSTRAP ESTIMATES OF THE MEAN AND THE CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF THE THREE MECHANISMS
switching_boot_mean <- apply(switching_boot, 2, mean, na.rm=TRUE)
switching_boot_lower <- apply(switching_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.025), na.rm=TRUE)
switching_boot_upper <- apply(switching_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.975), na.rm=TRUE)

backlash_boot_mean <- apply(backlash_boot, 2, mean, na.rm=TRUE)
backlash_boot_lower <- apply(backlash_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.025), na.rm=TRUE)
backlash_boot_upper <- apply(backlash_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.975), na.rm=TRUE)

disenchantment_boot_mean <- apply(disenchantment_boot, 2, mean, na.rm=TRUE)
disenchantment_boot_lower <- apply(disenchantment_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.025), na.rm=TRUE)
disenchantment_boot_upper <- apply(disenchantment_boot, 2, quantile, probs=c(.975), na.rm=TRUE)

# CONSOLIDATE
switching_boot_out <- c(switching_boot_mean, switching_boot_lower, switching_boot_upper)
backlash_boot_out <- c(backlash_boot_mean, backlash_boot_lower, backlash_boot_upper)
disenchantment_boot_out <- c(disenchantment_boot_mean, disenchantment_boot_lower, disenchantment_boot_upper)

return(list(switching_boot_out, backlash_boot_out, disenchantment_boot_out))
}

```

FILTER TO 2018 CHP VOTERS

```

# USE POST-STRATIFICATION WEIGHTS AS BOOTSTRAP PROBABILITIES
df_toboot <- df_analyze %>%
  filter(vote_2018=="CHP") %>%
  mutate(rid = seq(1:n())) %>%
  select(rid, vote_march_3, vote_june_3, weight)

# BOOTSTRAP
boot_out_list <- mech_boot_fn(df_toboot)

# SAVE FOR PLOTTING
df_plot_CHP <- data.frame(rbind(
  c(-1, 1, boot_out_list[[1]]),
  c(-1, 2, boot_out_list[[2]]),
  c(-1, 3, boot_out_list[[3]])))

```

FILTER TO 2018 AKP VOTERS

```

# USE POST-STRATIFICATION WEIGHTS AS BOOTSTRAP PROBABILITIES
df_toboot <- df_analyze %>%
  filter(vote_2018=="AKP") %>%
  mutate(rid = seq(1:n())) %>%
  select(rid, vote_march_3, vote_june_3, weight)

# BOOTSTRAP
boot_out_list <- mech_boot_fn(df_toboot)

```

```
# SAVE FOR PLOTTING
df_plot_AKP <- data.frame(rbind(
  c(1, 1, boot_out_list[[1]]),
  c(1, 2, boot_out_list[[2]]),
  c(1, 3, boot_out_list[[3]])))
```

FILTER TO 2018 NEITHER AKP OR CHP

```
# USE POST-STRATIFICATION WEIGHTS AS BOOTSTRAP PROBABILITIES
df_toboot <- df_analyze %>%
  filter(vote_2018!="AKP" & vote_2018!="CHP") %>%
  mutate(rid = seq(1:n())) %>%
  select(rid, vote_march_3, vote_june_3, weight)

# BOOTSTRAP
boot_out_list <- mech_boot_fn(df_toboot)

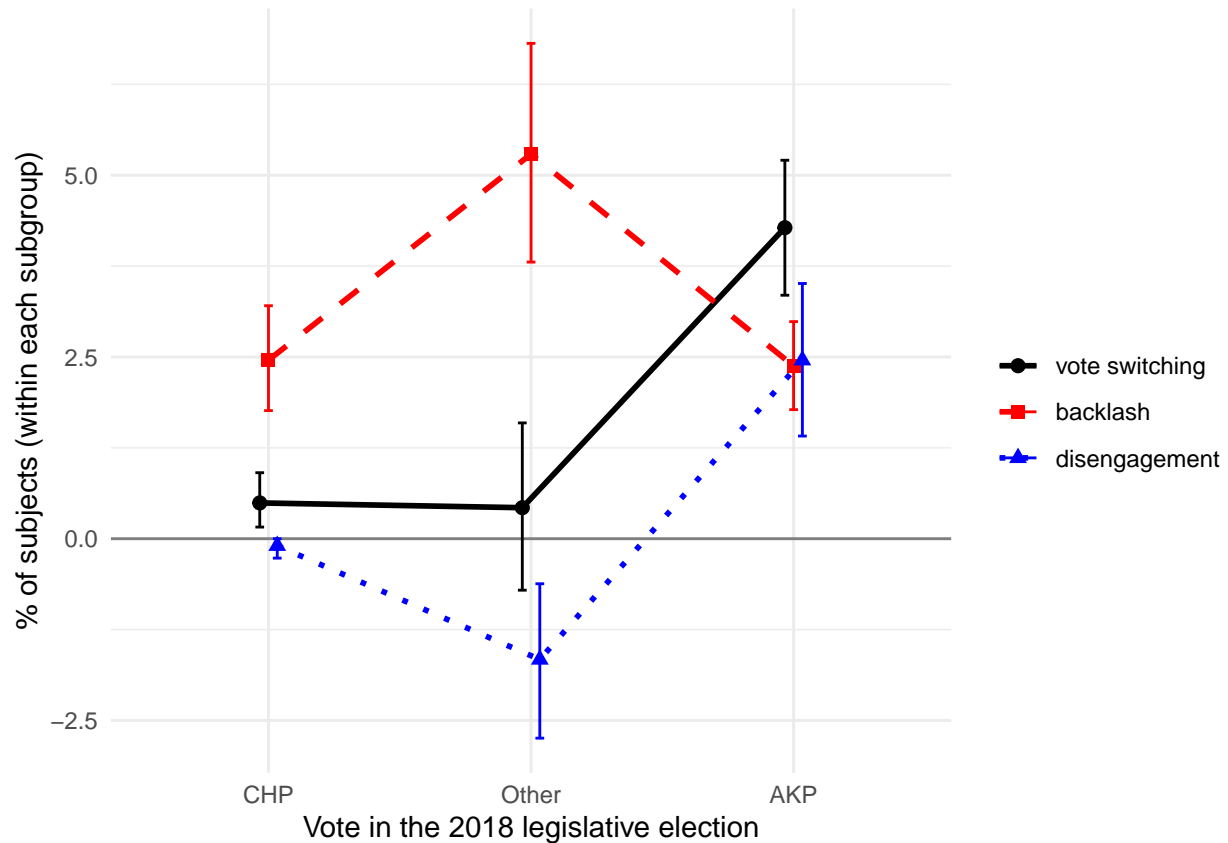
# SAVE FOR PLOTTING
df_plot_OTHER <- data.frame(rbind(
  c(0, 1, boot_out_list[[1]]),
  c(0, 2, boot_out_list[[2]]),
  c(0, 3, boot_out_list[[3]])))
```

PLOT

```
df_plot <- rbind(df_plot_CHP, df_plot_OTHER, df_plot_AKP)
colnames(df_plot) <- c("vote2018", "mech", "estimate", "ci_lower", "ci_upper")

df_plot <- df_plot %>%
  mutate(mech=as.factor(mech)) %>%
  mutate(vote2018=as.factor(vote2018))

plot_group_labels <- c("vote switching", "backlash", "disengagement")
plot_x_label <- c("Vote in the 2018 legislative election")
plot_x_labels <- c("CHP", "Other", "AKP")
plot_x_dodge <- .1
df_plot %>%
  ggplot(aes(x=vote2018, y=100*estimate), col=mech) +
  geom_hline(yintercept=0, col="grey50") +
  geom_line(aes(col=mech, group=mech, linetype = mech), size=1, position = position_dodge(plot_x_dodge)) +
  geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=100*ci_lower, ymax=100*ci_upper, col=mech), width=0.1, position = position_dodge(plot_x_dodge)) +
  geom_point(aes(col=mech, shape=mech), size=2, position = position_dodge(plot_x_dodge)) +
  scale_shape_manual(name = "", values=c(19,15,17), labels=plot_group_labels) +
  scale_linetype_manual(name = "", values=c("solid", "dashed", "dotted"), labels=plot_group_labels) +
  scale_color_manual(name = "", values=c("black", "red", "blue"), labels=plot_group_labels) +
  theme_minimal() +
  scale_x_discrete(name = plot_x_label,
    labels=plot_x_labels) +
  scale_y_continuous(name = "% of subjects (within each subgroup)")
```



```
# SAVE THE PLOT
ggsave("figures/figure_4.png", dpi = 1200, width = 10, height = 6, units = "in")
ggsave("figures/figure_4.eps", dpi = 1200, width = 10, height = 6, units = "in")
ggsave("figures/figure_4.pdf", dpi = 1200, width = 10, height = 6, units = "in")
```

Table 3

- ELECTION SURVEYS: HETEROGENEITY IN PUNISHMENT BY RESPONDENT COVARIATES
- Just like earlier we are working with `vote_3`, which implies that:
 - third-party voters are treated as abstainers
 - I am dropping the undecided
- `weight_s5`: survey weights post-stratified to match 2019 administrative population totals for the joint distribution of age, gender, and education as well as the margins from the 2018 legislative and the March and June 2019 mayoral elections

```
rm(list = ls(all = TRUE))
load("data/df_surveys.RData")
```

PREPARE THE DATA FOR ESTIMATION

```
# SELECT THE VARIABLES TO BE USED
df_temp <- df_surveys %>%
  mutate(weight = weight_s5) %>%
  filter(!is.na(weight)) %>%
  select(vote_march_3, vote_june_3, vote_2018, dg_sex, dg_age, dg_edu, turkish, istanbul_born, weight,
```

```
colnames(df_temp)

## [1] "vote_march_3" "vote_june_3" "vote_2018" "dg_sex"
## [5] "dg_age" "dg_edu" "turkish" "istanbul_born"
## [9] "weight" "ilce_name"

dim(df_temp)

## [1] 5480 10

# RECODE AGE TO HAVE THE SAME CATEGORIES AS IN THE SURVEY EXPERIMENTS
table(df_temp$dg_age)
```

```
##
## 18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 65-up
## 751 1182 1347 1090 728 382
```

```
df_temp$dg_age <- fct_recode(df_temp$dg_age,
                             `18-34` = "18-24",
                             `18-34` = "25-34",
                             `35-54` = "35-44",
                             `35-54` = "45-54",
                             `55+` = "55-64",
                             `55+` = "65-up")

table(df_temp$dg_age)
```

```
##
## 18-34 35-54 55+
## 1933 2437 1110
```

VOTE SWITCHING

- THE SAMPLE: all who voted for the AKP in March
 - MARCH: 0 if the subject voted for the AKP in March, NA otherwise
 - JUNE: 1 if the subject voted for the AKP in March but voted CHP in June; 0 otherwise
- THE DV y: the MARCH to JUNE shift
 - 0 if none
 - 1 if yes

```
# DV
df_vote_switching <- df_temp
table(df_vote_switching$vote_march_3, df_vote_switching$vote_june_3)
```

```
##
##      AKP  CHP  ABS
##  AKP 2397  218  23
##  CHP  47 2594  3
##  ABS  39  88  71
```

```
vote_march <- case_when(df_vote_switching$vote_march_3=="AKP" ~ 0)
vote_june <- case_when(df_vote_switching$vote_march_3=="AKP" & df_vote_switching$vote_june_3=="AKP" ~ 0
                      df_vote_switching$vote_march_3=="AKP" & df_vote_switching$vote_june_3=="CHP" ~ 1)

df_vote_switching <- df_vote_switching %>%
  mutate(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  mutate(Y = vote_june - vote_march)
```

```

df_vote_switching %>%
  group_by(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  summarise(N=n(), mean(Y))

## `summarise()` has grouped output by 'vote_march'. You can override using the `.groups` argument.

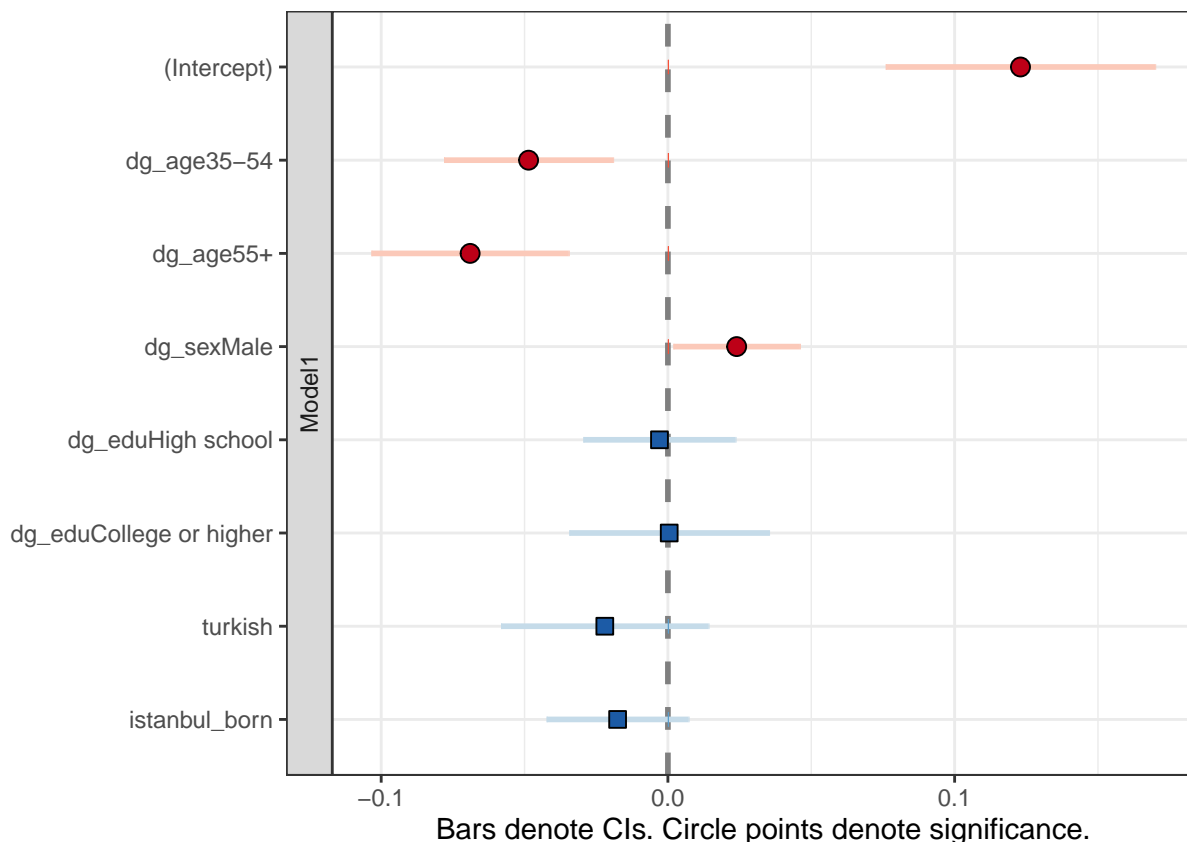
## # A tibble: 4 x 4
## # Groups:   vote_march [2]
##   vote_march vote_june     N `mean(Y)`
##     <dbl>     <dbl> <int>   <dbl>
## 1         0         0 2397     0
## 2         0         1  218     1
## 3         0        NA   23     NA
## 4        NA        NA 2842     NA

df_ols <- df_vote_switching %>%
  select(Y, dg_age, dg_sex, dg_edu, turkish, istanbul_born, weight, ilce_name)

ols_vote_switching <- lm_robust(Y ~ .-weight-ilce_name, data=df_ols, weights = weight)
plotreg(list(ols_vote_switching))

```

Model: bars denote 0.95 confidence intervals.



BACKLASH

- THE SAMPLE: ABS (including vote blank or vote third party) in March
 - MARCH: 0 if the subject ABS (abstained) in March, NA otherwise

- JUNE: 1 if the subject ABS in March but voted CHP in June; 0 otherwise
- THE DV y: the MARCH to JUNE shift
 - 0 if none
 - 1 if yes

```
# DV
df_backlash <- df_temp
table(df_backlash$vote_march_3, df_backlash$vote_june_3)

##
##      AKP  CHP  ABS
##  AKP 2397  218   23
##  CHP   47 2594    3
##  ABS   39   88   71

vote_march <- case_when(df_backlash$vote_march_3=="ABS" ~ 0)
vote_june <- case_when(df_backlash$vote_march_3=="ABS" & df_backlash$vote_june_3=="ABS" ~ 0,
                      df_backlash$vote_march_3=="ABS" & df_backlash$vote_june_3=="CHP" ~ 1)

df_backlash <- df_backlash %>%
  mutate(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  mutate(Y = vote_june - vote_march)

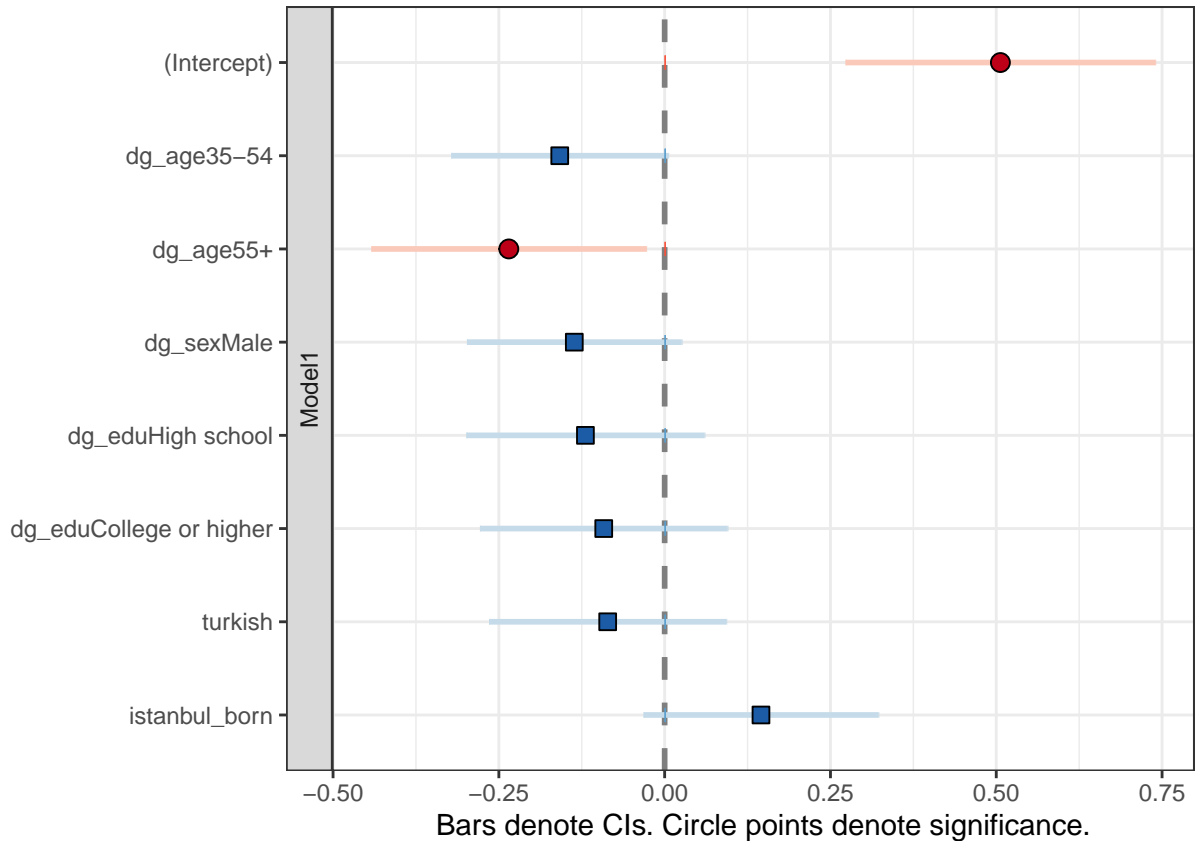
df_backlash %>%
  group_by(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  summarise(N=n(), mean(Y))

## `summarise()` has grouped output by 'vote_march'. You can override using the `.groups` argument.
## # A tibble: 4 x 4
## # Groups:   vote_march [2]
##   vote_march vote_june     N `mean(Y)`
##   <dbl>      <dbl> <int>   <dbl>
## 1         0          0    71       0
## 2         0          1    88       1
## 3         0         NA    39      NA
## 4        NA         NA  5282     NA

df_ols <- df_backlash %>%
  select(Y, dg_age, dg_sex, dg_edu, turkish, istanbul_born, weight, ilce_name)

ols_backlash <- lm_robust(Y ~ .-weight-ilce_name, data=df_ols, weights = weight)
plotreg(list(ols_backlash))

## Model: bars denote 0.95 confidence intervals.
```



DISENCHANTMENT * THE SAMPLE: AKP in March + MARCH: 0 if the subject voted for the AKP, NA otherwise + JUNE: 1 if the subject voted for the AKP in March but ABS (abstained) in June; 0 otherwise * THE DV y: the MARCH to JUNE shift + 0 if none + 1 if yes

DV

```
df_disenchantment <- df_temp
table(df_disenchantment$vote_march_3, df_disenchantment$vote_june_3)
```

```
##
##      AKP  CHP  ABS
##  AKP 2397  218  23
##  CHP   47 2594   3
##  ABS   39   88  71
```

```
vote_march <- case_when(df_disenchantment$vote_march_3=="AKP" ~ 0)
vote_june <- case_when(df_disenchantment$vote_march_3=="AKP" & df_disenchantment$vote_june_3=="AKP" ~ 0
                      df_disenchantment$vote_march_3=="AKP" & df_disenchantment$vote_june_3=="ABS" ~ 1
                      TRUE ~ NA)
```

```
df_disenchantment <- df_disenchantment %>%
  mutate(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  mutate(Y = vote_june - vote_march)
```

```
df_disenchantment %>%
  group_by(vote_march, vote_june) %>%
  summarise(N=n(), mean(Y))
```

`summarise()` has grouped output by 'vote_march'. You can override using the `.groups` argument.

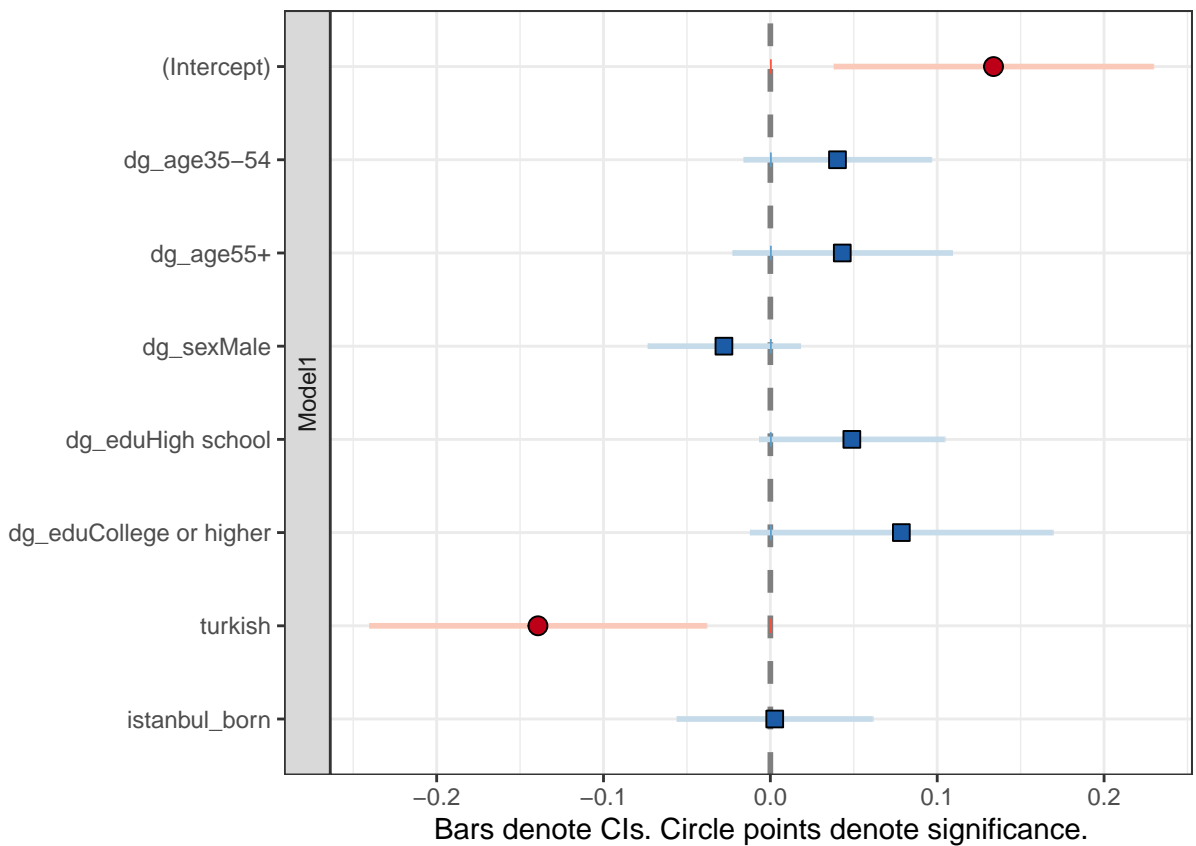
A tibble: 4 x 4

```
## # Groups:  vote_march [2]
##   vote_march vote_june      N `mean(Y)`
##     <dbl>     <dbl> <int>   <dbl>
## 1         0         0  2397     0
## 2         0         1   23     1
## 3         0        NA   218    NA
## 4        NA        NA  2842    NA

df_ols <- df_disenchantment %>%
  select(Y, dg_age, dg_sex, dg_edu, turkish, istanbul_born, weight, ilce_name)

ols_disenchantment <- lm_robust(Y ~ .-weight-ilce_name, data=df_ols, weights = weight)
plotreg(list(ols_disenchantment))
```

Model: bars denote 0.95 confidence intervals.



Report Table 3

```
texreg(list(ols_vote_switching, ols_backlash, ols_disenchantment), include.ci = FALSE, digits = 3, cust

##
## \begin{table}
## \begin{center}
## \begin{tabular}{l c c c}
## \hline
## & Vote Switching & Backlash & Disenchantment \\
## \hline
```

```

## Intercept & $0.123^{***}$ & $0.506^{***}$ & $0.134^{***}$ \\
## & $(0.024)$ & $(0.118)$ & $(0.049)$ \\
## Age: 35-54 & $-0.049^{***}$ & $-0.158^{*}$ & $0.040$ \\
## & $(0.015)$ & $(0.083)$ & $(0.029)$ \\
## Age: 55+ & $-0.069^{***}$ & $-0.235^{**}$ & $0.043$ \\
## & $(0.018)$ & $(0.105)$ & $(0.034)$ \\
## Sex: male & $0.024^{**}$ & $-0.136^{*}$ & $-0.028$ \\
## & $(0.011)$ & $(0.082)$ & $(0.023)$ \\
## Education: High school & $-0.003$ & $-0.119$ & $0.049^{*}$ \\
## & $(0.014)$ & $(0.091)$ & $(0.028)$ \\
## Education: College or higher & $0.000$ & $-0.092$ & $0.079^{*}$ \\
## & $(0.018)$ & $(0.094)$ & $(0.046)$ \\
## Turkish & $-0.022$ & $-0.086$ & $-0.139^{***}$ \\
## & $(0.018)$ & $(0.090)$ & $(0.051)$ \\
## Istanbul born & $-0.018$ & $0.145$ & $0.003$ \\
## & $(0.013)$ & $(0.090)$ & $(0.030)$ \\
## \hline
## R$^2$ & $0.014$ & $0.100$ & $0.065$ \\
## Adj. R$^2$ & $0.011$ & $0.057$ & $0.062$ \\
## Num. obs. & $2603$ & $155$ & $2409$ \\
## RMSE & $10.139$ & $44.160$ & $8.967$ \\
## \hline
## \multicolumn{4}{l}{\scriptsize{$^{***}p<0.01$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{*}p<0.1$}} \\
## \end{tabular}
## \caption{Statistical models}
## \label{table:coefficients}
## \end{center}
## \end{table}

```

““